5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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Though Monckton reports (1921) a few large villages in the early post-contact period, it is only recently, in response to Australian pressure, that multi-clan villages, with populations ranging from 100 to 500, have become common. Most of the plantations found in the Northern district have been established by Australian ex-servicemen supported by government loans. A number of Orokaiva have been drawn to work on these plantations, others to jobs in Popondetta, others again to service with the police, the armed forces or employers outside the district. Such migration has substantially reduced the proportion of the male village population group.[2]

2. *Technology and Aesthetics*

We possess only the briefest description of Orokaiva industry (in Williams 1930). Although I did collect additional data, the traditional technology has been transformed to such an extent that my data must needs be fragmentary. The only axes and adzes now in use are made of steel; most of the various stone-made cutting tools described by Williams are no longer in use, being replaced by the ubiquitous bush knife wielded by young and old, male and female. One exception is worth noting, if only to emphasise an element of continuity: cockle shells are still used for the scraping of coconuts and for the shaping and decorating of pots. Most of the needles used by women are still made of flying fox bones (*poma*), even though a few needles have at times been obtained from the Mission. While files for sharpening tools are necessarily made of steel, rough leaves still serve as tools for scraping pots, smoothing down wood, etc. The same mixture in the use of basic tools is found in agriculture, hunting, and fishing: we still find the digging stick but also the axe; traditional hand nets and fishing spears (with steel tips), but also snorkels. For hunting, traditional devices have been almost entirely replaced by the shot gun. The old technology is still basically intact in those few industries which are directly related to ceremonial life: the making and decorating of loin cloths, feather headdresses, ceremonial weaponry, musical instruments such as drums. Certain other specifically feminine artifacts (mats, baskets, string bags) are still produced and in use, while much of the contemporary Orokaiva house-building technology is traditional. Fine wickerwork for ceremonial objects (armlets, spear decorations, etc.) is still made by some of the older men. Orokaiva women have almost stopped making pots, though this was an important industry in pre-contact times. While trade goods are used for everyday purposes, such pots as are still made serve as gifts to women at the time of marriage. They are kept for sentimental reasons, but we were able to see only very few.

An everyday Orokaiva meal consists of taro, often with a few vegetable condiments: coconut milk, cordyline tips, or edible pitpit,[3] or one of a number of herbs, sometimes of supposed medicinal value. Much care is devoted to the cooking of the taro and variety is provided partly by a choice from many varieties of taro growing in most gardens. In the dry season, any of a number of subsidiary foods (sweet potato, German taro, yam, banana, breadfruit and several others) may be added to make the taro stretch further. Meat or fish is eaten only rarely, usually on festive occasions. Foods like tea, sugar, bread and salt are also reserved for such occasions. Although several traditional methods of

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making salt were described to me, the housewife depends mainly on trade salt. Meals never consist of more than one course. Plates, forks and spoons are owned by all households but people do not always use them. While boiling is the most common way of preparing food, bananas, yams and breadfruit are usually roasted. Meat is often preserved by daily smoking, sometimes for long periods. There is a rule against eating meat 'in lent' and this is kept very strictly, but probably for traditional religious reasons to be discussed later. The main drink with meals is a soup consisting of the water in which the vegetables and herbs were cooked.

Foraging. A good deal of plant and animal food is obtained from foraging, especially in the tropical rain forest which covers most of the Northern District. Among foraged animal foods I would mention especially grubs, frogs, snails, rats, bush eggs and lice. Foraged plant foods are especially valued during the dry season when roots, leaves and fern fronds may make up part of a meal. Savoury herbs and leaves, however, are collected at all times of the year. Some food plants, though growing in the forest, are owned by individuals so that the gathering of these plants may be better described as harvesting than collecting. The most important are the *tauga* and *puga* nut, sago, breadfruit, wild fig, and fruiting pandanus.[4]

Hunting. According to Waddell and Krinks, about two man-hours weekly are spent on hunting (3.7 hours by men and 0.3 hours by women). Hunting patterns on the Mount Lamington foothills differ widely from those on the alluvial plains where kunai grass is widespread. On the foothills, there is hunting in reverted gardens and in very limited areas of virgin bush. The usual quarry consists of small marsupials and birds. If a pig is encountered, it is invariably a village pig whose owner has a claim to the carcase. The game population was virtually exterminated after the introduction of guns in the 1950s. In the kunai country, on the other hand, hunting land is abundant. The technique is by firing the kunai so that the animals can be shot when they escape. Such a hunt requires a large number of men who ring the burnt-over area. Not only marsupials but also pigs are killed, either by gunfire or by being roasted alive in the kunai grass. By no means all animals killed in the fire are retrieved. Fires tend to get out of hand and to spread over surrounding bush land which then is often covered with kunai grass and so is useless for purposes of cultivation.

Fishing. The supply of fish has suffered greatly with the introduction of snorkels after the Second World War, as this equipment enabled the Orokaiva to fish out their rivers almost completely in a very short time. Fish is still an important resource, however, in the lower reaches of the huge rivers which run through the Northern District: Kumusi, Ambogo, Girua, Sambogo, etc. In Inonda, the village studied by Crocombe and Hogbin (1963) and Waddell and Krinks (1968), 3.8 man hours per week are spent on fishing, mostly with spears, and the product is used not only for consumption but also for trade. (Inonda people also trade meat and bush eggs.) Many of the villages near the mountain, such as Sivepe, have very little fish. Apart from a few eels and crabs, the rivers contained a small supply of two-inch-long fishes caught in April with a small hand-net used as a scoop. (See Williams 1930:53 for description.)

Animal Husbandry. There are three kinds of domestic livestock: pigs, dogs and fowls. Every man still has one or more small dog which he uses for hunting

435 245 At the time of planting, copra prices were relatively high (averaging £32.10.0 per ton f.o.b. in 1920) but a fall in overseas prices and the introduction of the Navigation Act in 1921 (which resulted in exports to Europe having to go to Australia first) made copra production uneconomic.(1) No copra [258] [249] was ever made from the community coconut grove at Ongoho, nor were the small stands of rubber and citrus fruits ever exploited. After the war the Akute'undi, as landowners, claimed 245 425 the trees as their own on the ground that the community project had been abandoned long before. One Akute'undi man claims and uses about half of the trees. His father planted food crops on that part of the land before the coconuts were planted and he now plants vegetables between the coconuts. Each of the resident Akute'undi men claims the right to the produce of several particular trees on the other half. Three trees are set aside for the medical assistant at the local Aid Post, as he is a stranger. Most members of the other sub-clans question the right of the Akute'undi to the exclusive use of the coconuts as [578] all groups participated in the planting. Occasionally some member of the other sub-clans asserts himself and collects nuts from the "community plantation" and the dispute which is normally quiescent flares up again.

245 258 249 Enquiries in fifteen other Orokaiva areas where coconuts were planted under the regulations show that most were never used for copra-making, though a few of those on the coast were so used from time to time. Not one plantation was systematically exploited. The rubber was not tapped as there was no market for the latex, and most plantations were not cleared after planting.(2) The citrus fruits were never exploited commercially, again because there was no market.

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(1) By 1923 average f.o.b. price per ton had fallen to £19.0.0 and by 1930 to £11.10.0. By 1934 the price was £8.0.0 per ton in London or about £4.10.0 f.o.b. Papua, though Papuans had long since stopped selling. The above prices were those paid to exporting traders, and net prices paid to indigenous producers were probably not much more than half those mentioned above.

(2) After 1941 other arrangements were made for use of the rubber plantations. For details see Rimoldi 1964.

and a lack of buying facilities, no coffee was picked at Ongoho until 1952. 241 [731]

In that year a local company (R.F. Bunting & Co. Ltd.) began buying coffee. The market price was higher than it had been when the government was buying (i.e. up to 1951) and it continued to increase. Some Hoiwo'undi resumed harvesting coffee from the Ongoho community block, but there was constant tension between them and the other sub-clans, Akute'undi in particular. Only a little of the coffee was picked, most of it by the village constable and the coffee boss and their close kin.(1) In 1953 they took two sacks of coffee to the Department of Agriculture in order to buy a coffee pulping machine worth £21.0.0. The machine did not function properly and after several years a passing Patrol Officer took it to Popondetta for repair. The Patrol Officer was later transferred and the machine was never located again. The owners still harbour a grievance on this account. [578] [258]

Agricultural extension services in the district were expanded during 1955-6 at the same time as the Higaturu Local Government Council was being formed. (The council area embraces all except one of the community plantations). Although agricultural policy at that time was to encourage future planting by individuals rather than groups, efforts were made to increase production from existing community plantations. Extension workers visited every community plantation and wherever possible enlisted local co-operation to have undergrowth cleared and trees pruned. Not all the people at Ongoho worked, but factional differences were sufficiently contained for several sub-clans to work together under the supervision of extension workers. Once the major task was completed and the 654 245 245 578 [654]

(1) The village constable was a member of Akute'undi sub-clan but was married to the most senior woman of Hoiwo'undi sub-clan. She has a very forceful personality, is married within her own village and is the only member of her family to have borne children. They will therefore acquire some land rights from her. The land on which the community coffee is planted was previously used for gardening by her father and her brothers. Her husband was village constable and he and his lineage pick coffee, but other lineages of his sub-clan do not and he is as forceful as his wife in denying their right to do so. In fact the constable and the coffee boss (who is a classificatory brother of the constable's wife) seem to have co-operated throughout to maximise their joint advantage. [425]

Community rice and cocoa projects

797 In 1948, the Christian Co-operative Movement was formed by Father Clint of the Anglican Mission at Gona. The movement spread spontaneously throughout the Orokaiva country, though most of the co-operatives were only nominally 474 linked to the mission.(1) The main activity of the co-operatives [241] was the growing of rice, but some grew subsistence foods also, and others made copra. Although the movement was referred [258] to as a co-operative, its agricultural activities were in most cases communal: all participants were supposed to work at the same time and to undertake whatever work was allotted to them by the group leaders, and the benefits derived were to have been shared equally. Moreover, at least some villages required all resident adult males to participate in the scheme.

621 In most instances the village worked as the unit of [243] production, but in some cases several neighbouring villages worked together. Some large villages were divided into one or more groups for the purpose of the community rice garden. Each group had a committee of management and a chairman.

461 In general Monday and Tuesday of each week were set 794 aside for work on the community gardens. Official patrol reports noted that the movement had taken on many aspects of a cult. All stages of work were associated with an unusual amount of religious activity and the tools and buildings of the co-operatives were treated with great veneration. Keesing (1952 : 7) speaks of an "absorbing mystical context" and of rumours that Europeans would leave Papua as a result of the co-operatives. An official observer stated that the people considered "mere participation in the co-operatives would, 797 magically or mystically, quickly raise their status in all respects to that of Europeans". Orokaiva people have pointed 461 out to us that cash cropping projects initiated by the government had invariably failed. They felt that a mission project might be more successful. Moreover, whereas they were uncertain of the government's motives they felt the mission to be "on the side of the people", for by introducing them to co-

(1) The co-operative movement in this area is described in more detail in Dakeyne, 1963.

Appendix F

The Orokaiva villager's experience of cash cropping

While the writer was conducting research into communal plantations in some villages, an assistant, Mr. Edric Eupu, visited others. The following brief extracts from two of his preliminary reports indicate the natuve of the villager's experience of cash cropping, and help to explain the current lack of enthusiasm on the part of many Orokaiva for further experiments.

Ahora Communal Garden

Before the war there were four cash crops planted at Ahora: coconut, cotton, cocoa and coffee. The coconut was planted on two clans' land. The names of the two clans were Huruba and Gambe. There were three villages took part in the work. The names of the villages and clans who took part in the work were ....

They planted coconuts but did not make any copra. [There was no market for it at the time]. The coconut was ready to make copra, but the Government officer at Buna told the people to plant the cotton. The cotton was planted on Gambe clan's land ..... The people worked one year for the cotton without pay .... When the cotton was ready .... they picked it and took it to Buna (government station) .... and they got paid. The pay was 1/- for each man in the three villages for the work they had done for the cotton. After they got the pay the work on the cotton stopped.

Then government told the villagers to plant the cocoa and they planted. It was planted on Gambe clan's land. The cocoa bore and they took the pods to Buna. Government paid for the pods [but the pay was insufficient] .... Then the coffee was planted on Huruba clan's land .... The people used to work every day .... The pay for the coffee was about 5/- to every man each year. While they were still doing this the war came. After that they did not work until Mt. Lamington erupted.